

Message Text

SECRET

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ACTION SS-25

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 0135
INFO AMEMBASSY AMMAN
AMEMBASSY BEIRUT IMMEDIATE
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AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS
AMCONSUL JERUSALEM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T SECTION 01 OF 03 USUN NEW YORK 00983

EXDIS

E.O.11652:GDS
TAGS: PORG, MARR, XF, UNSC, IS
SUBJECT: ISRAELI COMPLAINT AGAINST US ROLE AT THE SECURITY
COUNCIL

1. SUMMARY: UN PERMREP HERZOG AND LEGAL ADVISOR ROSENNE
TOLD LEONARD THAT ISRAEL CANNOT ACCEPT SYG'S REPORT ON
UNIFIL MANDATE SINCE IT FAILS TO PROVIDE THAT THE FORCE
CAN PREVENT PLO TERRORISTS FROM ENTERING AND OPERATING IN
SOUTHERN LEBANON. THEY ALSO PROTESTED THAT US HAD FAILED
TO DELAY SC PROCEEDINGS AS REQUESTED BY BEGIN, AND HAD
CONFRONTED THEM WITH A "DICTATE" BY NOT GIVING THEM
OPPORTUNITY TO RECOMMEND CHANGES IN THE SYG'S REPORT.
THEY CHARGED THAT THE US WAS RESPONSIBLE FOR WATERING DOWN
THE TEXT. ISRAEL, THEY SAID, RESERVES ITS POSITION ON
UNIFIL PENDING BEGIN'S DISCUSSION WITH THE PRESIDENT.
IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION, SYG OFFICIAL JONAH INFORMED US
THAT ROSENNE STATED THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT CONSENT TO ENTER
INTO DISCUSSIONS WITH SIILASVUO ON UNIFIL MANDATE UNTIL

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ROSENNE RETURNED TO JERUSALEM AND CONSULTED WITH HIS
GOVERNMENT. END SUMMARY

2. AT THE CONCLUSION OF INFORMAL SECURITY COUNCIL CON-
SULTATIONS ON THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S REPORT ON
THE IMPLEMENTATION OF UNSC RESOLUTION 425 AT 1900 MARCH 19,
ISRAELI UN PERMREP HERZOG AND LEGAL ADVISER ROSENNE (WHO

HAD JUST ARRIVED IN NEW YORK WITH BEGIN AND DAVAN) MET WITH AMBASSADOR LEONARD. ROSENNE INDICATED THAT HE HAD A NUMBER OF PROBLEMS WITH THE SYG'S REPORT AND HERZOG NOTED THAT SIILASVUO PLANNED TO CONVENE A MEETING WITH ISRAELI OFFICIALS IN JERUSALEM ON THE MORNING OF MARCH 20 TO DISCUSS THE UNIFIL MANDATE. ROSENNE SPECIFICALLY POINTED TO THEIR CONCERN THAT THE REPORT DID NOT SPECIFICALLY FORBID UNAUTHORIZED ARMED PERSONNEL OTHER THAN THE LEBANESE ARMY AND POLICE FROM ENTERING THE AREA OF OPERATION. HE NOTED THAT THE ISRAELI GOVERNMENT WOULD BE MAKING A STATEMENT IN THE KNESSET ON MARCH 19, AND ASKED WHETHER IT WOULD BE ABLE TO ASSURE THE ISRAELI PUBLIC THAT THE UNIFIL MANDATE WOULD PREVENT TERRORISTS FROM COMING INTO SOUTHERN LEBANON. IN VIEW OF THESE CONCERNS, ROSENNE CONTINUED, ISRAEL WANTED THE US TO SEEK A DELAY IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN ORDER TO ALLOW TIME FOR FURTHER US/ISRAELI CONSULTATIONS AND AMENDMENTS TO THE TEXT OF THE REPORT.

3. LEONARD TOLD ROSENNE THAT THE TEXT OF THE PAPER, ESPECIALLY PARA 6, WAS DESIGNED TO MEET THE ISRAELI CONCERNS. HE POINTED TO THE INCLUSION OF THE PHRASE "CONTROL MOVEMENT", AND INDICATED THAT IN OUR VIEW THE LANGUAGE HAD BEEN GENERALIZED BUT NOT WEAKENED FROM THE INITIAL DRAFT. IT WOULD TAKE A MAJOR DIPLOMATIC EFFORT BY THE US AT THIS STAGE, HE CONTINUED, TO SEEK TO POSTPONE
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SC ACTION. HE INDICATED THAT HE WOULD IMMEDIATELY PASS THE ISRAELI VIEWS ON TO THE SECRETARY. LEONARD RECALLED THAT WE HAD KEPT ISRAELI MISSION INFORMED OF ALL DEVELOPMENTS AND HAD BEEN ON TELEPHONE WITH THEM NUMEROUS TIMES THROUGHOUT DAY. HE RECALLED OUR FREQUENT QUERIES AS TO THEIR VIEWS ON EVOLVING TEXT AND THE TOTAL LACK OF RESPONSE WE RECEIVED FROM THEM UNTIL THIS CURRENT LAST MINUTE REQUEST FOR MORE TIME.

4. AFTER CONSULTATIONS WITH THE DEPARTMENT AUTHORIZING US TO PROCEED WITH THE RESOLUTION ADOPTING THE SYG'S REPORT, LEONARD SPOKE WITH WALDHEIM AND URQUHART TO ASK WHETHER IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR THE SYG IN HIS STATEMENT TO THE COUNCIL AFTER THE ADOPTION OF THE RESOLUTION TO MAKE AN INTERPRETATIVE STATEMENT ON PARA 6 WHICH WOULD MEET THE ISRAELI CONCERN. WALDHEIM SAID HE WOULD CONSIDER THIS AND SEE WHAT COULD BE DONE.

5. LEONARD AND POLCOUNSELLOR AGAIN MET WITH HERZOG AND ROSENNE AT 2045 TO INFORM THEM OF WASHINGTON'S DECISION TO PROCEED WITH ADOPTION OF RESOLUTION 426. ROSENNE THEN STATED FOR THE RECORD THE FOLLOWING: THE ISRAELI MISSION

HAD BEEN GIVEN THE TEXT OF THE SYG'S REPORT FOR THE FIRST TIME AT 1300 MARCH 19. (HERZOG INTERJECTED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD OTHER DELS HAD ALREADY SEEN IT THE PREVIOUS EVENING.) ISRAEL HAD ASKED FOR A DELAY IN SC CONSULTATIONS PENDING THE ARRIVAL OF BEGIN AND DAVAN. BEGIN HAD SEEN THE TEXT FOR THE FIRST TIME AT 1900 AFTER HIS ARRIVAL AT THE WALDORF ASTORIA. THE TEXT HAD BEEN WATERED DOWN

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FROM THE ORIGINAL VERSION. ISRAEL HAD NOT HAD TIME TO OFFER ITS VIEWS. THE US WAS PRESENTING IT WITH A "DICTATE". THE GOI CANNOT ACCEPT THE TEXT AND RESERVES COMPLETELY ITS RIGHTS. ISRAEL REGRETS THE MANNER IN WHICH THIS HAS BEEN HANDLED. BEGIN WILL DISCUSS IT FURTHER WITH THE PRESIDENT.

6. LEONARD THEN REPEATED THAT THE US HAD TRIED TO TAKE ISRAEL'S VIEWS INTO ACCOUNT, AND INFORMED ROSENNE OF OUR EFFORTS TO HAVE THE SYG MAKE AN APPROPRIATE INTERPRETATIVE STATEMENT. MOREOVER, HE SAID, THE US DOES NOT AGREE THAT THE TEXT WAS WATERED DOWN; ON THE CONTRARY THE SYG'S AUTHORITY IN OUR VIEW IS STRONGER UNDER THE GENERAL PHRASEOLOGY OF PARA 6. THE US HAD OBTAINED THE INSERTION OF THE WORDS "CONTROL MOVEMENT" WHICH WERE NOT IN THE FIRST VERSION. AS TO THE ISRAELI VIEW THAT US HAD NOT DELAYED SC ACTION, LEONARD SAID THAT THIS WAS TRUE, AND

IN OUR VIEW IT WAS IMPORTANT TO TAKE QUICK ACTION IN VIEW
OF THE CONTINUING MILITARY OPERATIONS IN LEBANON.

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7. ROSENNE SAID THAT THE SECURITY COUNCIL IN EFFECT WAS
CONDONING ACTS OF TERRORISM BY PLO "MODERATES" BY FAILING
TO CONDEMN THEM. LEONARD NOTED THAT THE US RECORD OF
SUPPORT AND FRIENDSHIP FOR ISRAEL NEEDS NO DEFENSE OR
EXPLANATION. WE HAD EXPENDED CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL
CAPITAL TO PREVENT A CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL IN THE
RESOLUTION. WERE WE TO HAVE SOUGHT SC CONDEMNATION OF THE
PLO, THE ONLY RESULT WOULD HAVE BEEN THAT THE COUNCIL
WOULD HAVE REFUSED TO DO SO AND WOULD INSTEAD HAVE
CONDEMNED ISRAEL.

8. IN CONCLUDING THE DISCUSSION, ROSENNE SAID THAT THE
UNIFIL MANDATE AS OUTLINED IN THE SYG'S REPORT "HAD NO
TEETH IN IT," AND THAT THERE WAS NO PURPOSE IN ESTABLISHING
IT SINCE IT WOULD NOT SOLVE ISRAEL'S PROBLEM. WE AGAIN
INDICATED OUR VIEW THAT THE MANDATE WAS FULLY RESPONSIVE
TO ISRAEL'S CONCERNS.

9. THE UK DELEGATION INFORMED US THAT THE ISRAELIS
SUBSEQUENTLY EXPRESSED THE SAME FEELINGS TO THE SC
PRESIDENT AS THEY HAD TO AMBASSADOR LEONARD EARLIER. THE
ISRAELIS SAID THEY WERE ANGRY ABOUT THE LACK OF CONSUL-
TATION WITH THEM AS THE COUNCIL'S ACTIONS MOVED FORWARD
THIS WEEKEND. THEY SAID THEY HAD BEEN KEPT GENERALLY
INFORMED, BUT ALWAYS TOO LATE FOR THEIR VIEWS TO BE TAKEN
INTO ACCOUNT. THEY SPECIFICALLY COMPLAINED ABOUT
THE "WATERING DOWN" OF THE LANGUAGE OF PARA 6 OF THE
SYG'S REPORT THAT HAD TAKEN PLACE IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.
THEY ALSO ASKED THE SC PRESIDENT WHETHER IT WOULD BE
POSSIBLE TO DELAY THE COUNCIL'S VOTE ON THE MANDATE
RESOLUTION UNTIL MARCH 20.

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10. UK PERMREP RICHARD RESPONDED THAT HE THOUGHT THE
ISRAELI DELEGATION HAD ACCESS TO INFORMATION ABOUT THE
PROCEEDINGS, AS RAPIDLY AS THEY HAD PROGRESSED. HE STATED
THAT THE REVISION OF PARA 6 OF THE REPORT, IN HIS VIEW,
PROVIDES THE SECRETARY GENERAL FULL AND ADEQUATE AUTHORITY
TO COVER THE POINT CONCERNING ISRAEL. WITH REGARD TO THE
ISRAELI SUGGESTION OF POSTPONEMENT OF THE COUNCIL'S FINAL

ACTION, RICHARD TOLD THE ISRAELIS THAT THERE WAS NO PROSPECT OF DOING OTHER THAN PROCEEDING SWIFTLY TO A VOTE WHEN THE COUNCIL RECONVENED LATE MARCH 19. HE SAID HE DOUBTED THAT EVEN THE US COULD ARRANGE POSTPONEMENT AT THIS LATE DATE. ONE REASON THE MOOD OF THE COUNCIL WAS RUNNING TO SWIFT ACTION, HE TOLD THE ISRAELIS, WAS THE CONTINUING MILITARY ACTION IN SOUTHERN LEBANON BY ISRAELI FORCES. THE MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL ARE DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THESE ACTIONS AND HAVE NO CONFIDENCE WHERE THEY MAY STOP. THE UK DELEGATION CHARACTERIZED HERZOG AS RELAXED AND FRIENDLY; HE GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT HE WAS MERELY GOING THROUGH THE MOTIONS IN APPROACHING THE PRESIDENCY FOR POSTPONEMENT.

11. AT END OF SC MEETING, MCHENRY ASKED HERZOG AND ROSENNE IF THEY HAD FOUND HELPFUL THE INCLUSION IN SYG'S STATEMENT OF SPECIFIC REFERENCE TO FACT UNIFIL WOULD HAVE TO CONTROL MOVEMENT INTO AND OUT OF THE AREA OF OPERATIONS. THEY EXPRESSED NO APPRECIATION BUT REMARKED THAT COMMENTS OF LEBANESE AMBASSADOR HAD IN FACT BEEN OF SOME HELP IN DEALING WITH THEIR PROBLEM.

12. JAMES JONAH, AIDE TO USYG URQUHART, INFORMED POLCOUNS IN SEPARATE DISCUSSION THIS EVENING THAT HE WILL DEPART

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MOMENTARILY FOR ISRAEL TO JOIN GENERAL SIILASVUO IN

CONDUCTING THE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE PARTIES ON THE MODALITIES OF WITHDRAWAL AND ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UN AREA OF OPERATIONS IN SOUTHERN LEBANON. JONAH SAID ROSENNE EARLIER HAD TOLD HIM FLATLY THAT ISRAEL WOULD NOT CONSENT TO ENTER SUCH NEGOTIATIONS UNTIL AFTER ROSENNE HAD RETURNED TO JERUSALEM AND CONSULTED WITH HIS GOVERNMENT.

13. JONAH SAID THE ISRAELI ATTITUDE MAY HAVE BEEN CAUSED TO HARDEN SOMEWHAT BY A PREMATURE AND UNINSTRUCTED APPROACH TO DEFENSE MINISTER WEIZMANN BY SIILASVUO. WEIZMANN TURNED SIILASVUO AWAY ANGRILY, WITH A TOTALLY NEGATIVE RESPONSE TO SIILASVUO'S EFFORT TO LAUNCH DISCUSSION OF MODALITIES. IT IS BECAUSE OF SIILASVUO'S "SOMEWHAT UNDISCIPLINED STYLE OF OPERATION," JONAH SAID, THAT HE IS BEING DETAILED TO JOIN SIILASVUO IN THE NEGOTIATIONS.

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14. IN DISCUSSING UN PLANS FOR LAUNCHING UNIFIL, POLCOUNS TOOK THE OPPORTUNITY TO URGE THAT THE UN CONTINUE TO PLAN TO INVOLVE LEBANESE AUTHORITIES IN SOUTHERN LEBANON AS FAST AND AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE, AS THE PEACEKEEPING OPERATION SHAPES UP. JONAH SAID THE PRECISE WAY IN WHICH THIS WOULD BE DONE MUST DEPEND ON THE TALKS WITH THE PARTIES SOON TO BEGIN, BUT THE UN HAS THE OBJECT OF REESTABLISHING LEBANESE AUTHORITY IN THE SOUTH VERY CLOSE TO THE TOP OF THEIR PRIORITIES IN SHAPING THE OPERATION. LEONARD

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